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By-Haygood, Kenneth

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This paper examines community programs sponsored by institutions of higher education; it attempts to define such programs, describe their elements, clarify inherent problems in their development and execution, and offer some observations on the advantages and disadvantages of the various types. Emphasis is on community service, social reform, community relations, community organization, and other aspects of community development. Institutional objectives are classed as either educational, service, or related to the development of the institution itself. Typical institutional objectives include liberal education, vocational education, community improvement, and a relatively detached stance which stresses research and independent scholarly thought. Also discussed are functions of universities in community development, and factors in financing and administrative organization. Major criticisms (frequent unsubstantiated claims, insufficient attention to educational objectives) are noted, together with suggestions for a more experimental attitude and wider involvement in such experimentation. (ly)

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NOTES AND ESSAYS ON EDUCATION FOR ADULTS 36

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KENNETH HAYGOOD
Staff Associate
Center for the Study of Liberal Education for Adults

CENTER *for the* **STUDY OF LIBERAL EDUCATION FOR ADULTS**

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PREFACE

The Center for the Study of Liberal Education for Adults has become increasingly aware of the importance of adult education concerned with community affairs and development. There exists, we believe, an open and inviting challenge for universities, and especially the adult education arms thereof, to concern themselves with this field.

The university has the intellectual resources necessary for a broad and deep view of human problems. It has resources in the form of a faculty with expertise in the educational process. To apply systematically these resources to community affairs and problems seems a compelling opportunity and a special challenge to which some universities have already responded. Especially challenging is the task of providing liberal education for adults for the further development of their analytic and critical abilities to enable them to fruitfully consider basic questions about the nature of man and society as it relates to their immediate concerns in the community in which they live.

The developing field of community affairs, however, is not without its share of the difficulties that beset any new division or consolidation of knowledge and its application. Not the least of these difficulties is the absence of a consensus on terminology. What, for instance, constitutes a "community" and what is "community development"? The problem of terminology is in this case compounded by the schism that exists between the thinking of the two major interests: the "theoreticians" and the "practitioners," who bring, respectively, an academic and a practical orientation to the field of community affairs.

Another difficulty in the advancement of this field is the ambivalent attitude of many universities to the propriety of a university involving itself in community affairs.

Because of the Center's interest in this field it asked Kenneth Haygood to examine the ways in which a university can and does involve itself with the community, giving special attention to the community devel-

opment approach. This essay is the result of his thinking and is an attempt to develop a frame of reference for an examination of existing and future community programs.

Although Mr. Haygood consulted on several occasions with the Center staff, this publication is primarily the thinking and conclusions of one person and is not necessarily a Center policy position. We look upon it as a statement which we are eager to share with the field at this time. We hope that this and future publications will stimulate thought, discussion and further examination of this aspect of university adult education.

A. A. Liveright, Director
Center for the Study of Liberal
Education for Adults

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I. INTRODUCTION

An institution of higher education,[1] simply because it exists, is related to its community in many ways. Out of these relationships are developed programs and working arrangements, some of which make the resources of the institution available to the community, others of which are intended to further the interests of the institution in the community.

Some of the activities engaged in by the institution in its community are essentially educational and go beyond the traditional on-campus teaching and research. They are, for example: extension programs scheduled at locations other than the main campus; educational radio and television programs; and special conferences, lectures, or tours for groups that come to the university for educational pursuits.

Many of the activities of educational institutions in the community combine education with service functions and cannot be easily separated. Into this category fall: speakers bureaus; consultations by faculty members; certain types of surveys and applied research; and involvement of the faculty in a variety of committees, boards, panels, and "task forces," set up to handle specific community problems.

A few activities are essentially service functions, such as providing conference facilities, printing non-educational materials for special groups, and running film libraries; but even these services often are a part of a larger educational program.

Finally, some of the activities perform special functions for the university, as do public relations efforts such as newsletters, citizen awards, and the provision of personnel to assist in the fund-raising campaigns of organizations related to the institution.

Some programs may be highly formalized, developed as a result of

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1. Throughout this paper the term "educational institution" or simply "institution" will be used as a general term meant to cover liberal arts colleges, community colleges, evening colleges, land-grant colleges and universities, and state-supported and private universities. However, the comments are intended to be particularly relevant for universities.

committee work, community surveys and studies, and are oriented to long-range goals; others may be based on informal understandings between various individuals and developed to meet specific situations as they arise.

Considering the complexity and uniqueness of the activities which have grown out of the relationships of educational institutions to their communities, it is easy to see why so much confusion beclouds the whole area of community programs, and why it is so difficult to describe, categorize, or, in some cases, even discover them.

The interest of the Center in community programs

Since its beginning in 1951 the Center for the Study of Liberal Education for Adults has been concerned with this aspect of a university's affairs. One of the major goals of the Center is:

> To clarify the relationship of the university to the community of which it is a part, so that an increasing portion of the community may be involved in liberal adult education.

The Center has found that of all its goals this may be the most difficult to delineate in concrete terms. The relationship between a university and the "community of which it is a part" cannot be defined in a way that holds for all universities and still is useful to describe a single university-community relationship. Most universities have many "communities" to which they are related. Some can be defined geographically, as in the case of a small branch of a state university located in a particular town. Most however are not so simple, and seem to be defined best, though amorphously, as "communities of interest." Even in the state universities which declare that the "boundaries of the state" are their limits, one may find the faculty active in regional, national and international affairs, and the students drawn from many lands. In metropolitan areas the problem is especially complex, particularly if, as is usual, more than one university is located there.

Because of the difficulty of defining "the community of which the university is a part" the Center feels that each institution must decide for itself the most appropriate definitions of its "communities." Further, the institution will have to decide on the most effective relationship to its communities in light of the unique qualities of the institution and the communities involved. Therefore, in the area of its concern with community

education, the Center has endeavored

- To disseminate information about how institutions have approached their respective communities.
- To clarify the characteristics of such relationships.
- To point up special problems to be considered by those institutions interested in developing and improving their relationships with their communities.
- To serve as a resource for programs of community education, suggesting the types of programs which might be developed and advising on the best ways to implement new programs or improve existing ones.

The purpose of this paper

This paper will examine "community programs" sponsored by institutions of higher education with special emphasis on university-sponsored programs. It will attempt to define such programs, describe their basic elements, clarify some of the problems inherent in their development and execution, and offer some observations on the advantages and disadvantages of the various types. Special attention will be paid to those activities referred to as "community development," for they have created much interest and confusion in recent years.

The need for community programs

Communities in the United States today are beset by social, economic and physical problems. With increasing frequency one reads that "the problem has its roots in the local community and can be solved only at that level." Inadequate housing, schools, recreational facilities and hospitals; juvenile delinquency; the increasing number of aged; racial discrimination; and many similar social concerns are increasingly seen as having their base in the local community, even though the local problem may only be a symptom of a nation-wide problem. Consequently, many communities will be increasing their efforts to resolve their difficulties at the local level. Without arguing the validity of attacking such matters through the local community, the greater activity will increase the need for more effective programs of education and coordination at the local level.

At a broader level, with metropolises exploding into "monstropolises," many problems of government—water distribution, sewage disposal, transportation and school construction—have arisen and are demanding new resources for their solution. There are a number of indications that

the federal government will move strongly into urban affairs, conceivably bringing additional resources to urban communities as the Department of Agriculture did in rural areas through its agricultural extension programs. Even if government participation is forthcoming, however, urban problems can be solved only by efforts that involve the residents of the areas, implying a growing need for educational and service programs relating to these questions.

At the international level increases in technical assistance and community self-help programs in newly-developing areas will demand the education and training of nationals from these countries as well as technicians who will be sent to work there. Here again the need for special community-oriented programs is increasing and inevitable.

Finding solutions to practical problems is a necessity which cannot be denied, and programs must be devised which aim at developing skills to solve them, but perhaps more urgent still is the necessity for educating people to an understanding of the basic processes which underlie social and economic problems and their relationship to one another. The ability to view events in this way is thought of as being best obtained as the fruit of a liberal education, for the goal of a liberal education is to arouse and increase a man's intellectual and spiritual powers so that he may bring to bear upon any challenge in his life the greatest possible wisdom, ability and integrity.

An encouraging development of recent years is a growing acknowledgment of the need for a basic liberal education. Professional and business schools are recognizing this need and are demanding more and more liberal education before, during and after their regular programs. In this century, for perhaps the first time in history, education is seen as a process which continues throughout life—for all persons, not just an intellectual elite. Young professionals continue their studies as they practice; parents take courses in child development as their children grow; in middle adulthood when leisure becomes more easily obtained, liberal education points the way to a more satisfying life.

The social revolution which is taking place now has given millions of people the time and means to pursue in adulthood the goal of becoming liberally educated and thereby further qualifying them for effective community participation. Educational institutions should now direct more

of their efforts to meeting this opportunity with high quality and imaginative programs.

The institutional imperative

A university depends upon some community, be it local, regional, or national, for its survival. From it comes the faculty, students and money it must have every year. In an increasing number of cases universities depend upon all of these communities and even recruit faculty and students from the international community. In addition, the community provides an endless source of data and a laboratory for the social science research of a university, as well as a training ground for the student—especially those in its professional schools. It also can be a center where the results of scientific discovery are communicated and translated into practical applications. Finally, a healthy interaction with its community helps the members of the institution to keep in touch with contemporary concerns, because, as Nietzsche stated, "The great problems are in the streets."

Coupled with such practical considerations, educational institutions —and especially universities—have an ancient tradition as guardians of the quality of human endeavors. Their responsibility for helping to formulate and shape society's goals and the means for achieving them is well accepted. The scholarly wisdom and objective insights which are the products of the universities' intellectual quest have been sought for ages by the layman as an aid to the making and implementation of his daily decisions. Surely the problems confronting society today demand even greater exercise of their traditional roles in the pursuit and dissemination of knowledge. Equally urgent, however, is the need to expand their role as teacher to include the adult population, especially to those persons who are in critical leadership positions in society. Particularly appropriate for the university is the task of providing liberal education for adults that guide them to a consideration of those fundamental concerns of man with which he must grapple as he attempts to create a society capable of expressing his noblest aspirations.

Implementing the imperative

Accepting the fact that there is a legitimate role for educational institutions in community affairs one would then ask, "How does an educational institution decide on its unique role?"

No simple formula or pat answer exists and each institution must decide for itself according to its particular objectives and resources. Nevertheless, some guidelines do exist and will be discussed in some detail in Section IV of this paper. In the meantime, it is important to note a spurious argument that often crops up when an educational institution is considering whether or not it should become involved in community affairs. What generally happens is that if members of the institution want to undertake a particular project there are any number of arguments that can be found for doing so. However, if they are not so disposed, the air is filled with cries of, "But we're an educational institution—we can't be bothered with such things. Our mission is research, scholarship and teaching!"

Recognizing the need for information and understanding in virtually every issue that a society faces, the important question is not whether the means to achieve the goals of society are educational or non-educational. The crucial problem is to determine which goals are most important and what kinds of knowledge and resources are required to achieve them.

The task of each educational institution then becomes one of determining the extent to which it can: clarify the goals of society in general and of communities in particular; decide which of the goals are legitimate for the institution to pursue; analyze the kinds of resources required to achieve them; determine what resources are already available for meeting the need; and find ways of obtaining and utilizing those resources not already available. Having assessed these factors the institution then can and must decide on the way in which it can best contribute its unique resources, both educational and otherwise.

II. COMMUNITY PROGRAMS

The Problem of Definition

One of the main reasons for much of the confusion and heat generated by discussions of community programs is that few terms have been defined and agreed upon by those concerned with the area. For example, at a recent meeting of the community development committee of a national organization, the question of confusion of terms arose. As the members discussed the meaning of community development it became evident that even the committee members had widely divergent views. One member described his university's program as a cooperative endeavor between the university and a community in an analysis of the community's needs followed by the mobilization of university and community resources to solve the problems through a continuing process of education and action. In response to this, another member said, "That's what we try to do—except on a smaller scale. We can only afford to give a two-week course for law enforcement personnel—but really, it's the same idea!"

In fact, the two approaches are widely divergent, being based on different assumptions and employing quite different methods. However, in spite of the honest attempt to clarify differences the lack of a mutually understood vocabulary doomed the effort. Somehow the member with the two-week program for law enforcement personnel was convinced that his program (which undoubtedly helped in the development of his community) was essentially the same as the more elaborate and long-term program that claimed to be a model for "community development." Obviously, until there is a clearer understanding of, and agreement on, the meaning of terms, there cannot be a fruitful exchange of ideas about the nature of community programs.

The example just mentioned illustrates the confusion over only one term, "community development." There is similar confusion over "community relations," "community organization," "community education," "community service," and others. (All these terms will be defined in the appropriate places within this paper.)

While the definitions in this paper will not be acceptable to all, it is hoped that they may provide a framework within which these and other terms and "concepts" may be analyzed and discussed. Should this paper simply enable interested persons to discuss the various important questions in this area with greater clarity, then the effort in writing it will have been worthwhile.

The following definition of "community" was selected because it is more specific than most in stating the particular ideas included in the definition:

> The community is a complex social institution which consists of many elements and many other institutions. Among these are:
>
> (1) A physical structure which exists in space, and which is made up of land, streets, buildings, and other physical facilities such as are included in the design of a town, a city, or a neighborhood.
>
> (2) A population diversified as to age, sex, skill, and functions.
>
> (3) A social structure that evolves through time consisting of such factors as class and group organization, patterns of attitudes and relations, habits, customs, values, and other social features and configurations that tend to shape the behavior of human beings both individually and collectively.
>
> (4) A pattern of varied activities and services, economic and otherwise, in which the people who comprise the population are engaged.[1]

For some, this definition may seem excessively broad and too inclusive. Certainly it is possible to give more specific definitions, especially if they are related to a particular discipline, such as biology, economics, or geography. However, in the area of community education a broad definition is required to include the wide range of activities that are generally associated with "community." This broad definition does not obviate the need for more refined definitions as one begins speaking in more specific terms. For example, presently there are many terms being used to refer to geographical areas in a metropolis which are small and in which the residents are in more or less face-to-face relations with one another. "Local community," "neighborhood," and "primary urban neighborhood" are some of the terms used, none of which is very specific but which do indicate and attempt to isolate a segment of a larger entity.

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1. Richard W. Poston, "Report of the Chairman, Division of Community Development, National University Extension Association" (mimeographed, 1958).

Confusion often arises in discussing "community education" because the concept of "community of interest" is used, referring to the relationship between individuals (and sometimes political entities such as nation states) that have a common concern even though there may be no propinquity. This paper will use "community" in the sense of the prior definition in which common concerns and geographical unity are both included. Where only "community of interests" is being referred to that term will be used.

The term, "community education," is often used broadly to cover almost any activity that relates education to community. While it lacks precision when used as a generic term, its usefulness is demonstrated by its appearance in the title of this paper where it refers to a very broad category of activities sponsored by educational institutions.

Similar generic terms abound in the field of education, such as: "adult education," "liberal education," "fundamental education," "informal education," "family-life education," and so on. All these terms serve to separate broadly defined areas although many overlappings exist.

Confusion in the use of the term arises in part because many non-educational activities are referred to as "community education" simply because they are activities geographically located in the community (that is, off-campus) or are activities that are primarily a service for a community.

The difficulty in clarifying the present use of the term arises not only from the fact that it is used in different ways (as a generic term and as a term referring to activities in, for or about the community) but also because some programs contain all of these elements at the same time. For example, a university might develop a content-oriented educational program about community life, for a professional group such as juvenile officers, which is held in the police department headquarters close to the officers' work. Thus, the "community education program" would fall in all three categories.

Types of Programs

The diversity of community programs of educational institutions is so great that it is almost impossible to talk about them as a group. Nevertheless, one of the main obstacles to discussion has been the tendency

to lump them all together and generalize about them. For instance, when faculty members of a great private university discussed a proposal for a community-oriented research and field program, their objection was that they did not consider their institution to be interested in performing "community services." For them, work with communities on a formal, on-going basis meant "service" rather than "scholarship" and was, therefore, not a legitimate activity for a private institution. This idea persisted in spite of the fact that the same institution has one of the finest research and "community service" programs in the country in the form of its hospital, out-patient clinic and research-oriented medical school.

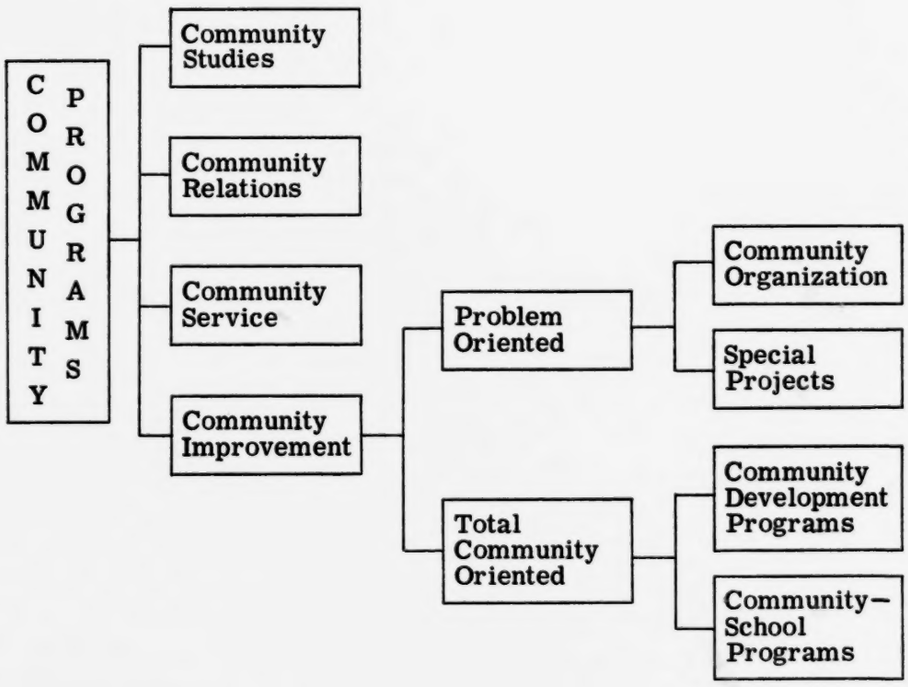
The example above is not unusual in the academic world. Those who try to grasp the fundamentals of community programs often have difficulty partly due to the lack of adequate studies and publications in this area and partly because community programs often have many different elements and characteristics that must be understood in order to understand the total program. The biggest problem may be that there has not been a large number of people who have felt the need to try to understand such programs. However, recent developments in communities and educational institutions may be changing this situation; there is an increasing demand to clarify the complexities of this educational "house of mirrors."

It is the Center's hope that a greater clarification and understanding of community programs will come about and that it will be possible to see that each institution can put together precisely the kind of program best suited to its own orientation and to the particular community with which it is working. It should be borne in mind, however, that if a number of institutions do develop community-oriented programs the present diversity of programs will increase and it will become even more difficult to lump a number of programs under a term such as "community development" and expect any uniformity of purpose and method. It is hoped, nevertheless, that an increase in diversity would be accompanied by a greater understanding of the precise nature and consequences of the different approaches to community programming.

In line with this view, the following section of this paper will be an attempt to classify the major community programs, isolate important elements, and look at them in different ways in an attempt to develop

some conceptual frameworks for understanding the elements and their interrelationships.

In a very gross sense most institution-sponsored community programs can be said to have a dominant "theme," "purpose" or "intention." That is, while they may in fact be multi-purpose or consist of a number of discrete though related activities, they often have an outstanding trait or characteristic which enables one to "label" the program. Such labelling is worthwhile only if it is remembered that in most cases the label is a very rough approximation of the actual program. With this caution in mind, it might now be appropriate to list and diagram the major types of programs.



These divisions, based upon a dominant program "theme," do not reveal the complexity of most programs. The fact is that one rarely finds a pure type of program, especially among the larger ones, as they generally contain some elements of all types, especially the "total-community" improvement programs.

To avoid this problem some people have tried to distinguish commu-

nity programs on the basis of whether or not they are educational. These efforts are generally fruitless as a means of classification because many of them vary greatly from time to time in the extent to which they are educational. Even some crassly motivated community relations programs have found that their most effective efforts are those which are primarily educational—as in the case of special study programs for alumni groups. On the other hand, many programs in which the individual comes to understand his community particularly well have many non-educational elements mixed with educational activities. Examples of these are community surveys, work-teams that clear off an old lot for a playground, or even historical pageants that dramatize the community's past.

Therefore, to simply classify community programs as either educational or non-educational is not very helpful. What is needed rather is a more discriminating look at the relationship between educational and non-educational community activities so that one may develop a better understanding of the way in which they further the objectives of the institution and the community.

Community studies

This type of program is primarily for the purpose of providing knowledge and understanding about, and experience in, various aspects of community life. It includes, for example, the University of Chicago's University College lecture-tour series, "Know Your Chicago," which covers topics like architecture, law-enforcement, race relations, city planning, art, music, the dance, and many others. Courses such as "The Sociology of Community Life," "Urban Sociology," "Metropolitan Government" and others are standard items in both credit and non-credit curricula and are about community life.

In some cases community leadership training programs can be thought of as programs which are made up of "education about the community." There are many leadership programs being given today throughout the country, and they are sometimes very elaborate. Because they consist of many different kinds of activities the problem of categorization is thereby complicated. For example, if a university sponsored a community survey using residents of the community to gather information it would not be community study. If, however, a long-range educational program began with a survey and then went on to an analysis of the data obtained,

followed by a study of various problems brought out in the survey, then it would be a community study program. The survey portion, being an integral part of the total program, then could be seen as a part of a community study program, although it is essentially the non-educational training and field work portion of an educational process.

Before leaving this category one further distinction should be made. From time to time educational programs are presented about specific subjects which are a part of community life, such as, "The Family in the Suburb," or "Juvenile Delinquency." While such topics should generally be considered under the generic terms "family life education" or "parent education" the same subjects could be taught as part of a "community study" program along with various other community-related subjects. The precise designation of the individual courses would be determined by the way in which the single activities were related to the overall program.

Community service

Many programs, especially those of state-supported institutions and land-grant colleges, have as their primary intention or "theme" the providing of services to individuals and groups in the community. The "services" may take many forms such as: field studies of land use, education needs, tax structures, natural resources, etc.; speakers bureaus whereby university faculty are procured for community groups; consultative services; conferences, institutes and training programs; film libraries; medical facilities; counselling services; and many others. In some cases, many of these services will be combined into a single unit such as the "extension service," or "extension division" whose primary task is to take these services as well as regular courses to the local community or, in some cases beyond, to the regional, national or international community.

Providing services to the community is basic to our culture and stems from a central cultural theme of our society. Says Irwin T. Sanders:

> One of these cultural themes [in the United States] which best explains the relationship of the university and its community is the promotion of human welfare, a theme that has been dominant since the early days of American history. The theme has taken different forms in different periods; in our own day it appears as the service motif. Any institution that wants to receive the continued support of the American people is likely to try to justify such support in terms of the service that it renders. It must do more than simply meet its obligation in a dem-

ocratic society to be accountable to 'the people.' It must be accountable in a particular way; it must satisfy the people that it is making an active effort to extend and expand their welfare.[2]

It is virtually impossible to find an institution of higher education that does not, in some way, provide services to the community. Therefore, the issue should not focus on whether or not an institution should provide community services, but rather, on how they interpret their mandate to do so and on the definition of the community they serve.

Community relations

While many institutions provide community services as a natural part of their overall program and hope that the public will recognize their efforts, others develop "community relations" programs expressly for the purpose of gaining support for the institution. Many of these activities are referred to as "community education" although they are often of the "public relations" variety, concentrating on the use of press releases, speeches, newsletters, and in some cases advertisements. Recently, efforts have been refined to reach only the particular individuals and groups most concerned with the institution, known as the "institutional community," which, incidentally, brings into play another variation on the term "community."

As the public relations field has gained experience many new weapons have been added to the arsenal so that at times it is difficult to distinguish those programs that are primarily motivated by public relation needs. Many citizen committees, community studies, conferences, quasi-scientific publications, and other activities have become standard institutional practice blurring the line between "education," "service" and "public (community) relations." Consequently, a clear separation of these programs is not entirely possible.[3]

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2. Irwin T. Sanders, "The University and the Community," Issues in University Education, ed. Charles Frankel (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1959).

3. Murray G. Ross, in his book Community Organization: Theory and Principles (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1955), defines community relations as "the methods or ways by which an agency, association, or council relates itself to the geographic community." He then subdivides community relations into public relations, community services, and community participation.

Because the connection between community relations and the activities by which such relations are developed is rather obvious, the reader can select either way of looking at the matter. The writer of this pa-

Community improvement

An increasing number of institutions are undertaking programs of "community improvement." That is, their primary motive is not simply to provide specific services as required or demanded, nor to engage in community relations programs to enhance their position, nor to engage in a scholarly pursuit of research or training. Rather, the institution establishes a program to create conditions which contribute to the growth and development of economically sound, physically healthy and socially mature communities. Often their motive is mundane: the stronger the community the more support the institution is likely to receive. Or, at an altruistic plane: it is the responsibility of the institution as an integral part of society to do everything it can to create as ideal a society as possible. Or, in a more analytic and sophisticated form of reasoning that applies most directly to universities: since the university stands somewhat apart from society and possesses intellectual scope and personal detachment, it is in an excellent position to criticize present-day society, suggest needed reforms, and point out sound procedures for improving society.

While any one of these motives (or others not mentioned) may form the basis for becoming involved in community improvement programs, the way in which the program is developed depends on many factors, some of which will be discussed in greater detail in part IV. Briefly, they are: the orientation, interest and willingness of the institution to divert some of its resources into tasks not previously undertaken; the type of community; the kinds and intensity of the problems that need "improvement"; and the resources available to the institution.

The multiplicity of these factors and the differences in opinion as to the most effective course of action by the institution has resulted in the development of many different kinds of "community improvement" programs. For this reason, the following description and clarification of community improvement programs will be considerably longer than the previous descriptions.

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per has chosen to emphasize the fact that some programs are primarily developed for the purpose of improving the relations between an institution and its community, while at the same time recognizing that virtually all community programs, in one way or another, affect the relationship.

"Community improvement" programs can be roughly divided into two types, although each type has many variations within it:

- "Problem" oriented programs of community improvement with efforts directed toward a specific problem such as inadequate recreational facilities
- "Total community" oriented programs of community improvement with efforts directed toward the general upgrading of the entire community

In the problem oriented type of program the institution generally diverts its resources to the solution of specific problems within a community. For example, representatives of a community may determine that it needs to restructure its economic and tax base; prepare a master building plan; develop a youth recreation program; or undertake a similar task. The representatives make their needs known to the institution which assigns the appropriate subject-matter specialists to the problem.

The procedures for implementation of a plan are generally left in the hands of the community. That is, the specialists submit their findings and recommendations to the appropriate community representatives. Then, feeling that they have completed their work, they withdraw, leaving the community to carry through the recommendations if they can and wish to do so.

The problem oriented programs need not be very large. Even a small institution with a few specialists can provide considerable help in improving a local community if the problem is crucial and can be overcome by local efforts. A simple example might be that of a small community lacking in medical and public health facilities. With the assistance of a public health specialist from an interested institution a number of steps could be taken: improvement of the existing programs (such as school health examinations); development of cooperative projects with adjacent communities for the mutual use of expensive equipment; and in some cases, the construction of medical facilities such as clinics or hospitals with the help of foundation grants or government funds.

On the other hand, problem oriented programs can become very extensive and still retain their basic character of being designed to improve conditions related to specific problems. For example, without the establishment of a Department of Community Services or Community

Development, the University of Minnesota provides services to meet special problems through: its Municipal Reference Bureau (which gives assistance with problems of government to local municipalities); the State Organization Service (which provides assistance with problems of organization, finance and administration to voluntary organizations in the state); and a Department of Concerts and Lectures (which provides cultural services to communities of the state on a self-sustaining basis).[4]

Many institutions besides the University of Minnesota have initiated similar activities. In metropolitan universities especially, there has developed a number of programs directed to solving problems that have arisen as the result of the growth of urban areas. In fact, the Universities of Wisconsin, Rutgers, Delaware and others are in the process of setting up "urban extension" programs, supported by the Ford Foundation, and are specifically intended to develop educational and service activities in urban areas to combat urban problems.

Before proceeding to an explanation of another type of community improvement program something should be said about community organization.

Community organization is based on the recognition that a community consists, among other things, of a network of formalized and identifiable groups of individuals and institutions banded together to pursue common goals. The professional community worker has developed a number of principles of operation and activities in an attempt to maximize the efficiency of groups and individuals in carrying out their common purposes. Traditionally, community organization has been thought of as a means of ameliorating or solving specific problems such as juvenile delinquency or health and welfare problems (and thus falls in the classification "problem" oriented community improvement programs).

While community organization efforts have been moderately successful, it has become increasingly evident that a single-problem approach to resolving community problems is only a partial answer to community improvement. Especially in large towns and urban areas, community prob-

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4. Taken from the CSLEA supported study of twelve NUEA institutions by Katherine Lackey, Community Development through University Extension, Community Development Publications (Southern Illinois University, 1960).

lems are so interrelated that it is ineffective to try to solve one without working on others as well. As in modern medicine where the individual is treated as a whole, recognizing the delicate balance between organs and the relationship between the "psyche" and the "soma," so, too, must the community be approached as a totality with a recognition that you cannot disturb or change one part of community life without affecting the whole. Many professionals in community work have recognized this fact and the term "community organization" has recently taken on a broader meaning, to the extent that some people use the term in a way that is almost synonymous with the "total community improvement" or "community development" approaches discussed below. Murray G. Ross has been very specific on this matter:

> Community organization . . . is a process by which a community identifies its needs or objectives, orders (or ranks) these needs or objectives, develops the confidence and will to work at these needs or objectives, finds the resources (internal and/or external) to deal with these needs or objectives, takes action in respect to these, and in so doing, extends and develops cooperative and collaborative attitudes and practices in the community.[5]

The approach of the total community type of community improvement program is one in which the main concern is not with particular problems within a community but rather is directed toward the education of the citizen about his entire community and the acquisition of the necessary knowledge and skills to enable him to bring about an improvement of the total community. A basic assumption of this approach is that community problems are so interrelated that it is not realistic to attempt to solve one without attending to others as well.

The methods employed by the community worker and citizen in this approach are derived from an education-for-action idea and usually proceed from problem definition, to study and analysis, to "self-help" ac-

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5. Ross, op. cit., p. 39.
The reader will note that this definition closely parallels that of "community development" in section III, infra, especially as to the sequence of steps taken in the process of improving the community. Situations like this have inevitably led to confusion of both professionals and laymen. In this paper the term "community organization" will continue to be used in the traditional sense of referring to a method used to coordinate and maximize the efforts of particular groups within a community. "Total community improvement" and "community development" will be used to refer to efforts directed to the improvement of the community as a total social, physical, and economic system.

tion involving as much of the community as possible through the use of "democratic" procedures. The "total community" improvement programs are thought of in long-range terms in which the members of the community engage in a continuing process of community improvement and work to "solve" particular problems as a single part of the continuing process.

The role of the institution in total-community improvement programs is generally very extensive, especially during the early phases. It might include educational activities to provide the citizen with greater knowledge about his community and about how he can work with others to improve it; direct services to the community in the form of specialists and consultants on specific problems; staff members on loan to help in getting a program started; facilities for meetings or office space; and secretarial and duplicating services. A cardinal principle of these programs, however, is that the citizens provide as many of the resources as possible. If the institution is the only available resource then it is understood that the services are "temporary" and that as soon as possible the community will develop its own resources. In fact, the notion is that after a while the institution will be able to completely withdraw as a catalytic agent and simply become a special resource to the community as in the "problem oriented" approach mentioned above. In particular, educational institutions have recently been recognized as being well suited as a special resource in "education for community leadership" and thus often carry a continuing responsibility for whatever programs of leadership education are required to prepare people for effective work in community improvement projects and to enable them to carry on their programs over long periods with a minimum of outside help.

The "community-school" approach, an example of a total-community improvement program which has gained recognition in recent years, is essentially an attempt to develop a closer relationship between a community and its schools so that they can become a central focus for community life. The schools undertake activities and functions which increase their responsibility for the life-long education of community members and the community, in turn, participates more actively in making decisions concerning the schools' functions. School facilities become more available to the community at large, making it the center of the active civic life of the community. Also, the schools and the community generally engage in a mutual exploration of community problems and needs.

This often results in a greater reliance on the educational process as a step in community improvement and in the introduction of content on community life and social problems into the curricula for both the young and the adults in the community.[6]

The most talked-about type of community program in existence today is the controversial, much-heralded, much-maligned, multi-purpose, all-embracing, total-community improvement program referred to as "community development."

Because of the great interest in this type of program the next section of this paper will be devoted to a fuller description of it. For now, it might be noted that there are probably more people in the world engaged in community development programs than any other type of community program. It is well-known abroad in the less-developed countries where village life and agricultural pursuits predominate. India has probably the most highly-developed program which is centered in its villages, although some experimental urban programs have begun. In the U. S. it has been employed most often in small towns, but here too, recent efforts have been directed toward urban areas. In fact at present, the most vigorous group of individuals within the professional organizations concerned with community development are those who see the application of community development principles and methods as being particularly relevant for urban life.

One can say however that community development has had a rigorous and colorful past and is experiencing an active and anxious present. What the future offers is uncertain, but it is safe to say that community development programs will play a major part in local, national and international affairs. To what degree they will attain a respected position in educational and governmental circles and in the public's mind will probably depend on how effective they become as programs that are primarily educational even though directed toward action. In this capacity community development programs can provide an opportunity for the individual not only to share in the benefits of successfully completed projects, but also to develop his initiative and talents as a productive member of a free society.

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6. For a detailed description of a community-school program see: Bernard H. Reed, The Community School (Chicago: Industrial Relations Center, The University of Chicago, 1960).

III. COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT: A CLOSER LOOK

Having completed a discussion of the types of community programs it might now be useful to take a detailed look at a single type of community program. Selected for closer examination is the total-community improvement program referred to as community development.[1] It has been selected because it often contains elements of all of the other types of community programs and because so many people are directly and indirectly involved in programs of this nature. Also, it is one of the most poorly understood and controversial community programs in existence today.

Defining community development

There is no single definition of community development that is accepted by all those working in this area. Some definitions emphasize the "process" or methods of community development, others the educational aspects, while others frame the definition around its social movement aspects. Still others refer to it primarily as a way of getting certain tasks accomplished, especially in the fields of basic social and economic development. In fact, community development has some of all these aspects, though they are not always to be found in a single program.[2]

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1. The general category "community improvement" was used to introduce the concept "community development." Nelson, Ramsey and Verner point out the relation between these two words: "Sometimes the expression 'community improvement' is used, but the connotations of the word 'improvement' are too restrictive to represent the broader concepts contained in 'development.' Certainly the ultimate improvement of the community is the goal of any action program. Improvement, however, does not include implications as to method, while development implies growth and self-generation from within the structure, which is more accurate in meaning." Lowry Nelson, Charles E. Ramsey and Coolie Verner, Community Structure and Change (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1960), p. 415. Community development in this paper is intended to convey the broader concept of community improvement delineated by Nelson, et al.

2. Especially useful as a guide to understanding community development, particularly international programs, is: United Nations, Bureau of Social Affairs, Social Progress Through Community Development

For the purpose of this paper we are using a definition of community development that is brief and yet includes most of its major characteristics:

> The term community development refers to a process of community education and action that combines outside assistance with democratically organized local initiative in an effort to attain goals that the members of the community hold in common for the improvement and enrichment of the entire community.

Objectives

Almost every program is unique not only in the methods it employs but also in its immediate objectives.

"Practical" objectives. Most community development programs grew out of a practical need. A community faced a serious problem of decline and atrophy as its industrial or agricultural base became obsolete or moved away. An undeveloped country embarked on a phase of rapid growth and development and there was an urgent need for a number of community services and activities to be established and co-ordinated at the local level. Years of rule by a colonial power had created a state of dependency or built up resistance to the ruling power. In these and other situations an attempt to develop "self-help" programs to overcome practical problems resulted in a community development approach which enabled the local citizen to contribute his resources to the program as well as take greater initiative in his own affairs, thereby preparing him to assume his responsibilities as a citizen of a democratic nation.

Social reform objectives. Community development programs have sometimes been initiated as part of an effort to bring about basic reforms in society. This was often done by establishing practical objectives, but implicit in the programs was the notion of social reform. This type of goal is generally expressed somewhat as follows:

> The ultimate goal of community development is to help evolve through a process of organized study, planning, and action, a physical and social environment that is best suited to the maximum

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(IV. 18.) (New York, 1955). For a more extensive bibliography see: United Nations, Secretariat, Selected List of Books, Pamphlets and Periodicals in English on Community Organization and Development (ST/SOA/Ser. O/5 or ST/TAA/Ser. D/5) (New York, 1953). For descriptions of specific programs see Lackey, op. cit.

growth, development, and happiness of human beings as individuals and as productive members of their society.[3]

It is interesting to note that most supporters of community development who have recently come to the field do not talk as much about ultimate goals as they talk about new methods of community surveys; matters of professional training; the development of research programs; relations with other agencies and organizations working in the field; and swapping experiences about the results of programs. Whereas its first supporters dreamed of creating great new social movements and bringing about many needed reforms, the present breed of community developer tends to be more concerned with doing his particular job well, whether it be leadership training, research, or serving as a "generalist" to help communities get started on their projects. They still recognize its importance as a social movement but they are absorbed in getting an immediate job done. They are able to concern themselves with such tasks because the pioneers fought hard to get community development established on a tentative or trial basis. Their mission now is to establish its validity as an important discipline and methodology.

Educational objectives. Probably the most basic yet difficult to establish objectives of community development programs are the educational ones. These can be thought of in two ways.

1. Acquisition of specific knowledge. While this is not "educational" in the deepest sense of the word it is an important part of the total educational process. It refers to the fact that while a community development program is underway people learn about such subjects as municipal government, juvenile delinquency, housing, transportation, schools, group process and human behavior. The specific knowledge is obtained to analyze and resolve particular problems. The extent to which the citizen becomes "educated" in this kind of process is open to question—a question, incidentally, constantly raised by those working in community development.

2. Liberal education. Superior community development programs combine a study of local problems and acquisition of specific information, with activities directed toward the liberal education of the citizen thereby developing his skills in analyzing problems, evaluating alterna-

3. Poston, op. cit.

tive solutions to problems, relating immediate problems and viewpoints to the basic philosophical concerns of man, and developing an historical perspective about his community and its relation to the rest of the world. D. Mack Easton refers to this concern in the following way:

> I suggest that no man should be considered a free man or a competent citizen who cannot function as a member of a community, who cannot collaborate with others in dealing effectively with community problems and raising the level of community life—functioning both through governmental and extra-governmental mechanisms. If he cannot do this, he is not free, but is bound by the circumstances in which he finds himself.
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> I do not suggest that competence in the life of the local community is enough to establish one as a free man, but that it is one of the elements of a genuinely liberal education. If this is true, then research and teaching in the field of community development or community improvement is a university responsibility.[4]

A liberally oriented program also assists the citizen in relating specific local problems to one another and enables him to see their interrelations not only in an immediate economic or practical way, but also as the problems relate to man's social and cultural life. McClusky says:

> The most significant lesson which we can learn from having to struggle with the realities of inter-relatedness is the disposition of looking at a problem in its relation to the community as a whole. In some respects, this is the most unique contribution of community development to adult education. No other form of educational experience quite matches it for giving adults a broad view of community affairs.[5]

Although many different educational methods such as lectures, field work, discussion groups, workshops and demonstrations are used in community development programs, the whole process is essentially a direct method of teaching, as McClusky states:

> If we can borrow a term from the field of pedagogy, community development is essentially a direct method of teaching. Instead of standing on the side lines and assuming that instruction done out of context (say in a night class on municipal government) will somehow automatically lead to a productive attack on local problems, community development helps the learner make the connection between his learning and its application directly and without the inter-

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4. D. Mack Easton, "Role of the University," Proceedings: Gull Lake Community Development Seminar (mimeographed, 1960). Copies are available from the Bureau of Community Development, University of Washington, Seattle 5, Washington.

5. Howard Y. McClusky, "Community Development," Handbook of Adult Education in the United States, ed. Malcolm S. Knowles (Chicago: Adult Education Association of the U. S. A., 1960).

ference of intervening factors. It may deal with concrete data or concepts and at times be highly intellectual, but in any case relevance is the chief characteristic of its approach.[6]

As a basic approach to community improvement, a community development approach can be used in a wide variety of situations and still maintain its unique character. For example, at this very moment programs are functioning along similar lines in small agricultural settlements in India; in suburban towns in Michigan; in the neighborhoods of metropolitan cities like Chicago and St. Louis; in large agricultural regions in Saskatchewan, Canada; and in hundreds of small towns throughout the United States, Mexico, the West Indies, South America, Italy, Israel, Iran, Pakistan, India, Egypt, Ghana (and other African nations), Malaya, the Philippines, and Australia.

The staggering diversity of the kinds of programs now underway leads one to wonder how all of these activities can legitimately be classified under one term "community development." Admittedly, it is a loose grouping but, to date, a number of elements have been identified which can be said to form the "core" of community development programs. While not all programs emphasize the elements in the same order of importance, their presence is nevertheless essential for an activity to be placed in the category "community development."

Basic Elements

1. The community is approached as a whole: It is seen as an integrated social and economic system consisting of such factors as class and group organization; patterns of attitudes, customs and values; physical structures; and a population diversified in age, sex, skill and social function. Changes in one part of the system will have an effect on other parts of the system.

2. Activities undertaken correspond to the basic needs of the members of the community: These needs can be physical (housing, food, sanitation, etc.), social (reorganization of government, social-recreational activities, building a community center, etc.), economic (improving and distributing agricultural and manufacturing products, etc.), or psychological (developing a sense of "belonging," achieving recognition, attaining a feeling of effectiveness, etc.). Because there is a hierarchy of needs, it is usually the physical or economic needs that are most easily recognized, especially in less-developed areas. Therefore, except in urban areas, these are the ones most often worked on in community development programs.

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6. Ibid.

3. The educational-organizational process moves from an awareness of problems to a definition of the problems followed by study, decision-making, action and re-evaluation: Programs usually begin with an overall assessment of the community and its problems by as many people as is possible. As problems are defined and decisions made the members of the community can begin to work on their problems either simultaneously or in a series but always with continuous coordination and reassessment.

4. Community development activities are thought of in long-range terms: A full and balanced development program works on many different problems over time. However, it generally begins with a single-purpose project in which immediate results can be seen. Progression to other more complicated projects then takes place in an ever-widening circle.

5. Widespread participation and involvement is sought with decision-making taking place at the lowest level consistent with the nature of the problem: While "grass roots" decisions are often desirable some problems cannot be decided at that level. Nevertheless, every attempt is made to involve as many people as possible at the local level.

6. Changed attitudes in people are as important as the material achievements of community projects: Community development is concerned with developing attitudes which support democratic processes. Therefore, success in overcoming community problems is not the sole purpose of community development. The development of skills of participation in and positive attitudes toward the democratic process are equally important.

7. The resources of both governmental and non-governmental organizations and institutions are utilized: Although some programs have been heavily dominated by governmental resources and others have tended to be extra-governmental, all have been based upon the recognition that productive community life requires the appropriate involvement of both, as determined by the particular community and the resources of the government.

8. Both professional and lay participation is sought in community development programs: The essence of community development programs is that they make the best use of both lay and professional resources. Either group alone is not nearly adequate to the task. The lay members participate both as persons in recognized leadership roles and simply as members of the community. The professional may serve either as "specialist" on a particular problem or as a "generalist" whose job is to help coordinate the various elements of the project.

9. The identification, encouragement and training of local leadership is a central feature of community development programs: Programs based on the assumption that the ultimate responsibility for continuing community development rests with the local citizenry must make every effort to seek out and develop those persons who have leadership potential. Thus, one of the main expenditures of time in community development programs goes to locating and working with indigenous leadership. This emphasis helps characterize community development as being as much concerned with the development of the individual as with the community.

The various elements included in this "core" are emphasized in differing amounts in different programs. With time and experience new elements are appearing as essential to the success of community development programs. In fact, two elements most germane to university activities are emerging as crucial elements. The first element is listed as number 1 above: "The identification, encouragement and training of local leadership." The second, not yet included as a core element because many community development programs do not include it, is: "Research on both the nature of community problems and the process of community development."

Some proponents of community development would include research under element number 3, above: "The educational-organizational process moves from an awareness of problems to a definition of the problems followed by study. . . ." However, it is clear that many programs do not rely heavily enough on research and that the kind of "study" referred to in number 3 does not necessarily refer to research undertaken by qualified research personnel.

General Observations

In the past the greatest number of programs has been in rural, small towns in the United States and in rural villages or small agricultural areas in Asia and Africa.[7] Presently, although rural and small town programs still predominate, there are a number of programs that encompass an entire nation, for example, Ghana, the Philippines, and Pakistan. There are also a number of state-wide programs in the United States in Wisconsin, Michigan, Washington, Utah and in Canada in British Columbia and Saskatchewan.

Recently, the urban area has been the focus of community development efforts. Because of the size and complexity of urban areas programs do not fit the usual model very well, but they have a number of characteristics in common. Especially important has been the recognition that the

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7. The reader should be cautioned at this point that many projects referred to by their sponsors as "community development" do not contain most of the elements listed above. For instance, when a realtor builds a new housing development or an industrial firm starts a clean-up and beautification program, they may be called "community development" but do not fit the more restricted type of education-for-action program described in this paper.

problems are so interrelated that they cannot be handled separately. Because of the increasing emphasis on urban affairs by private and governmental organizations it appears that urban programs may be a central focus of community development programs in the future.

Some attempts at community development type programs in urban areas have been made, notably through the use of television in St. Louis, a community development program sponsored by Southern Illinois University in East St. Louis, and the well-known citizen participation program in the Hyde Park-Kenwood area in Chicago.

To date a wide variety of institutions and organizations has sponsored these programs. Is there a "natural" home for them? A case can be made for community development programs being sponsored by universities, community colleges and public schools; local, state, national and international governments; private business and industry; social agencies; voluntary associations; and individual communities. To seek a single institutional sponsor at this time would cut off community development's most vital characteristic—its diversity and flexibility. Whether or not it will ever have such a home seems relatively unimportant at this point. In fact, over-emphasis of this question may cause damage to the field. For example, some professionals in community development have maintained that the university is the only appropriate place for such programs. Since private universities have tended to feel that community development is a responsibility of state-supported institutions they have dismissed the matter. This short-circuiting of the question of what is the proper institutional home for community development means that to date too many people have put off asking what community development has to offer their particular institution, agency or community.

Students are being taught the "discipline" of community development. Jobs are being filled by "community developers." Professional associations have been established. Community development meetings are being held to discuss professional questions. A body of research is growing that deals with community development. Journals are published in this area. But do these traditional indicators of professionalization mean that a profession is emerging?

Essentially, community development is only a special way of working with members of a community and those related to it. It is analogous to the field of "community organization" except that it has a broader

scope. It is similar to the "community-school approach" discussed briefly in an earlier section, except that it does not operate on the preconceived notion that the public school is the best or most appropriate institutional home for a total-community improvement program. In the last analysis then, it is simply a specialized approach to community life and citizen action that blends an educational objective with the social, economic and physical improvement of the community and the individuals therein. Obviously such an approach can be implemented through many different means.

To hazard a prediction, the writer would say that, rather than developing into a profession, the fundamental approach and the elements inherent in community development as we know it today will survive and be implemented in hundreds of different activities, and not all of them will be related to community life. If people train for and carry the title of "community developer" it will be in a very specialized role as a generalist working right in the community as a kind of co-ordinator of community affairs. Many of the specific roles of the professional, such as researcher, teacher, executive director or community organizer, will be distributed among adult educators, public administrators, governmental employees, and others in the social and applied sciences.

The Function of the University

The traditional functions of the university are those of conserving, developing and disseminating knowledge. A more recent function has been added by some universities, "service to the community."

Teaching and research are common expressions of these functions that are most relevant to a university's involvement in community development. But in what form should such involvement manifest itself?

In the first place, it is not necessary to think only in terms of a university's supporting a fully-developed, extensive community development program. While many universities are interested in the opportunities community development affords them in pursuing their particular objectives, they may not be able to commit major resources to what might be at the time a limited objective. Thus, they become involved in only a single aspect of a program. Today the participation of universities ranges from the University of Washington's large-scale program of direct involvement with a number of communities to a more specialized

six-month program at the University of California for foreign personnel engaged in community development in their own country.[8]

Second, where a fully developed program does exist it does not necessarily conform to a specific pattern but is constructed to serve the unique interests of the institution and the community. For example, Michigan State University directs much of its effort to the emerging urban community and to the development of means whereby regular faculty of the University can become a part of the ongoing research efforts of the program; the University of Utah concentrates on leadership education; and Southern Illinois University focuses on help to an economically depressed rural area, a deteriorating urban area, and on the education of professionals to work in, teach about, and conduct research on community development programs.

Third, it is often the case that a university is involved in community development through the interest of individual faculty members, rather than as an institutional commitment. For example, some years ago Herbert A. Thelen of the University of Chicago worked closely with the Hyde Park-Kenwood program because he was interested in teaching-learning situations and found working with adults in a community setting a fruitful place to extend his understanding of teaching methodology through observation and experimentation. Howard Y. McClusky at the University of Michigan is interested in "the educative community," that is, a community in which there is an emphasis on participation in, understanding of, and assessment of decisions made by many rather than a few. As social workers, Murray G. Ross of the University of Toronto, Thomas Sherrard of the University of Chicago, and Arthur Dunham of the University of Michigan are interested in the relation of community development to community organization, citizen participation and social welfare activities. Albert Kaufman of the University of Mississippi is interested in community development as it contributes to research findings on the life of small communities.

Because of this "continuum of commitment" (from a single faculty member's interest to a total-institutional effort) and because of the diversity of opportunities for fulfilling university functions one can see why many universities have become involved in such programs. But un-

8. For other variations see Lackey, op. cit.

der what circumstances should a university itself sponsor such a program, and what standards should it maintain?

With reference to teaching, it is axiomatic that any university intending to sponsor a community development program must be committed to adult education as a legitimate function and to some form of extension or extramural activity. Also, it should have at least a minimal commitment of service to the community.

Assuming such commitments, a university should undertake a community development program only if it is seriously interested in teaching people

> How to identify and analyze community problems and community aspirations—including how to choose goals; how to devise and select plans for dealing with them; and how to organize and carry out the actions necessary to put the plans into effect. . . . It includes both substantive knowledge and mental and social skills.[9]

The university must also be interested in research:

> To discover as much as possible about communities and their motives, processes and skills by means of which persons in communities form community goals and aspirations and solve the problems involved in achieving them. This is research in social process, in the dynamic aspects of the local community. . . . To discover as much as possible about the appropriate methods for assisting persons in communities to learn (to become competent) to collaborate effectively with their fellows in community matters, and the bases on which to judge which method is most promising in the particular circumstances arising at various stages in the process of social change. This is research in educational methods.[10]

Naturally, not every university can devote major efforts to all of these interests but they must conceive of them as major concerns. In fact, most of the failings of existing community development programs[11] are not due to the nature of community development programs but rather to a lack of fulfillment of the teaching and research objectives of the sponsoring institution. Had the institutions seen these programs more as teaching and research activities than as community service programs

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9. For a more complete statement on the role of the university in community development see Easton, op. cit.

10. Ibid.

11. For more comments on the failings of community programs see section V, infra.

the present criticism that they are non-educational activities would probably be invalid.

However, it is not sufficient for a university only to insist that a community development program meet high standards of teaching and research. The university also must be willing to explore unique teaching methods for unusual situations and to formulate inter-disciplinary research projects and procedures capable of explaining the conditions, causes and effects of community change. It must bring to these tasks its traditional quality performance of well-accepted tasks coupled with a willingness to explore and innovate in new directions as well. Based on the objectivity and impartiality of a university and drawing on its wide range of resources much is to be gained by both the community and the university through community development programs.

Whether or not a university is the actual sponsor of community development programs may not, in the long run, be crucial to the continued growth of the field. The involvement of university resources and personnel in such activities, however, is crucial.

IV. THE INSTITUTION

In the foregoing sections this paper has discussed community programs in general and has attempted to define them. It has also discussed in some detail community development because it is a program of particular interest to many. Now that the general groundwork has been laid and the reader has an idea of the wide scope and complexity of the problem, it is possible to examine those factors within the institution itself which have a major influence on the development and direction of any community program.

The single most important factor to be considered in the development of community programs is the set of objectives of the institution which sponsors them. As obvious as this may appear it is apparent that many of the difficulties created in developing community programs have stemmed from a failure to recognize the simple tenet that the objectives of a community program must be consonant with those of the parent institution. The failure to comprehend this relationship has been especially evident in recent years when professionals in community work have spoken of the great millennium when all educational institutions will sponsor extensive community programs. Presumably, the means of achieving this is simply by making known the dramatic accomplishments of existing community programs. In fact, such knowledge would daunt many of our educational institutions that are oriented to a traditional on-campus program of research and teaching. Anything short of a basic reorientation of such institutions will have little effect on them as they generally feel (and rightly so in many cases) that their greatest service to the community can be rendered by continuing to do their present task as well as possible.[1]

So important is this principle of congruence between the objectives of a community program and the parent institution that one can safely

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1. For a more detailed statement of this point of view see Arthur Kornhauser, "The University and the Community in Our Times," Graduate Comment, Wayne State University, Vol. II, No. 5 (1959).

say the single most important task in setting up a community program is a careful analysis of the objectives of the parent institution to determine at what points the objectives of the university and a community program cross over.

An analysis of this type is not always easy because educational institutions are constantly evolving. In some cases it may take many months of meetings and study to pin down such objectives in order to make them operationally useful.[2]

The congruence of program objectives with institutional objectives is important not only in the initial phases of setting up a program but is a continuing concern. In some cases the objectives of the parent institution change, leaving the community program high and dry. In the case of Earlham College, Indiana, a new administration of the College informed the director and founder of the twelve year old, internationally known Program of Community Dynamics that the College intended to move in new directions. This decision brought about the termination of the Program as a separate entity.[3]

To be more specific about the matter of making community programs consistent with the objectives of the parent institution, there are certain objectives of educational institutions that are compatible with community programs and others which are less so. The next portion of this paper will attempt to relate the major objectives of institutions of higher education to community programs.

Institutional Objectives

The objectives of public and private universities, land grant and community colleges generally consist of the following: educational; service; and developmental (refers to the continuing development of the institution itself).

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2. Recently Boston University spent almost one year in the development of a statement by a faculty-administration committee which served as the basis for the initiation of a program to serve the adult population of the Boston Community. See "Boston University's Adult Education Program," Adult Education, 1959. Reprints distributed by the Center for the Study of Liberal Education for Adults.

3. William W. Biddle, Report on the Program of Community Dynamics (Earlham College, 1959).

Educational objectives

Scholarship: As the overall objective of institutions of higher education, scholarship consists of the independent pursuit and dissemination of knowledge through observing, reflecting, discussing, criticizing, speaking, writing, and creating in the realm of ideas and understandings.

How community programming can be related to scholarship: The development of community programs as an integral part of the continuing pursuit of scholarship can be a fruitful relationship, especially in the social sciences. Sociologists, political scientists, anthropologists, psychologists, educators, geographers, and economists are constantly seeking situations that lend themselves to controlled experimentation and study and that are "real" rather than laboratory situations. Departments of sociology that specialize in demography, inter-group relations or community organization are particularly sensitive to this resource.

Example: At the University of Chicago the Chicago Community Inventory was established to gather, analyze and disseminate demographic data on the Chicago region. Some years ago the Committee on Research on Race Relations was a part of the sociology department. Presently, the School of Social Service Administration has a program of research and training in community organization.

Example: Michigan State University's Institute of Community Development and Services involves members of the various departments in the planning of their community programs thereby enabling the faculty to build in research projects of interest to them. Also, a number of the staff members of the Institute are selected for their commitment to a particular discipline. This fruitful exchange promises to aid in the development of sound programs and provide various situations for the pursuit of knowledge by the discipline-oriented scholar.

Teaching: As the basic and most readily accepted objective of educational institutions, teaching is generally directed toward specific audiences, some of which have immediate concerns in the community.

How community programming can be related to teaching: If an institution serves adults, special groups such as voluntary organizations, community councils and the like, then it is very easy to relate community programs to these audiences. Professional groups such as social workers, teachers (especially those in public schools), clergy, law enforcement personnel, and other community-oriented professions all can be subjected to theory about, and direct experience in, community life through community programs. With undergraduates there are a number of excellent opportunities for direct observation in the community of classroom topics, especially in philosophy, psychology, sociology and anthropology.

Example: University College, Syracuse University, has a well-developed leadership training program for community leaders from various organizations. Earlham College used to integrate theory and content about community life into the regular curriculum of the college and also provide direct experiences in the community through college-sponsored projects, not only in the College's community but in other countries as well, notably Puerto Rico.

Service objectives

The next general objective to be related to community programs is the "service" objective. This objective is most evident in state-supported and land-grant institutions. A neat and arbitrary line between "service" and "educational" objectives cannot always be drawn. For example, the teaching done in extension activities through conferences, institutes, training programs, and at off-campus locations is a blend of both service and educational objectives. In the extreme, some consider that everything that a university does is a service to the community.

The points listed below are some of the best known service functions.

Publications: As part of the general objective of dissemination of knowledge publications play a vital role.

How community programming can be related to publications: As knowledge about community life increases publications can be produced and directed to community groups. A vast array of topics may be relevant for community consumption but most institutions prefer to concentrate in a few areas of community life.

Examples: The University of Chicago's Community Inventory produces a widely-used Community Fact Book based on census data. Antioch College, Yellow Springs, Ohio, has produced a large number of pamphlets and books on community life and programs for community groups.

Consultations: In the role of the "expert" many university personnel consult with community groups.

How community programming can be related to consultations: The main problem in this case is to develop a means whereby the institution's resources do not become overly taxed by demands for consultation by community groups. Usually, the effectiveness of community consultation can be greatly increased by tying such consultations into ongoing community programs, rather than haphazard consulting with whatever group happens to be aware of the resources of the institution.

Example: The Community Development Bureau of Southern Illinois University can draw on urban planners, architects, engineers, political scientists and others who are on the Bureau staff or the faculty of the University to consult with community groups at appropriate times. A similar situation exists at the University of Washington, Michigan State University, the University of Wisconsin and many others.

Special services: A number of special services have been developed over the years that are fairly common today and available to most communities. They consist of surveys (especially school surveys); field studies of specific community problems such as zoning or tax matters; construction of tests, teaching materials, films and such; the use of building facilities and equipment for meetings, classes and other public gatherings; and, in a few cases, the services of a faculty member may be made available to a community or governmental body to work on a particular task.

How community programming can be related to special services: Most of these services have been developed out of particular needs in the community; therefore, little need be said about how the relation can be established. It should be pointed out, however, that most communities are only dimly aware of the kind of services and resources available to them. Very few institutions have taken the attitude that "although we know what knowledge and resources we possess others do not. It is our responsibility to let individuals and groups know how we can be of help."

Example: The cases are too numerous to mention as virtually every institution provides some of these services in one way or another. A few universities have established "Community Service" units whose job it is to co-ordinate these special services. The community service unit is most often found in the extension division.

Developmental objectives

The last general objective to be related to community programming is the "developmental" objective. Every institution must direct a good many of its resources to its own maintenance and development. This aspect of an institution's life is so important that most of the work of presidents of colleges and universities is devoted to it. The particular way in which they go about it depends on the type of institution it is but the basic objectives are quite similar.

Recruitment of faculty and students: The faculty and students of an institution are its most valuable resource. Also, its future depends on the kind of faculty and students presently in residence. Consequently, it behooves an institution to maximize the opportunities for creative scholarship and study.

How recruitment of faculty can be related to community programming: As mentioned above under "scholarship" faculty members often seek new, interesting, and "real" situations in which to carry out their studies. Community programs can provide these situations. Such programs can also provide faculty with new teaching opportunities, especially of adults—a growing interest. Finally, faculty associated with community programs are often called upon for extra-curricular work. This can provide additional income for the faculty member, and, sometimes equally important, can help to give the faculty member recognition for his work and a feeling of belonging in the community. The feeling of being a part of such a community can often help to retain a faculty member even in the face of larger salary offers elsewhere.

How recruitment of students can be related to community programming: Students are attracted to an institution not only by its scholastic reputation or its athletic record but also as a channel for their idealism. The young student is often concerned with social problems and would like to feel that his prospective institution is helping resolve these problems in a direct way. The student is often puzzled by the relation between knowledge, theories, abstract social philosophies and actual life situations. Community programs can sometimes help him see the relation more clearly. Furthermore, many students having just left their home

and community feel alienated in a new setting. Participation and recognition in community projects can help him achieve a sense of identity similar to that which he had "back home."

Example—Faculty: Many universities offer some of these opportunities, especially if they have a large extension program. Some administrations base promotions in part upon the service which the faculty member renders to the community through the extension division.

Example—Students: Earlham College, Antioch, Bennington, and Sarah Lawrence are the best known examples of this approach.

Financing: This activity has great variation and includes such activities as working with state legislatures; obtaining government and foundation grants; raising money from private sources; and fund drives.

How community programming can be related to financing the institution: State-supported institutions, rightly or wrongly, constantly face pressure from the legislators to justify their existence on the basis of their service to the community. Community programs can be of obvious help in this regard. Recently a number of government agencies and private foundations have shown interest in community-oriented programs, especially if it has basic research built into the program. Carefully developed community programs can provide the matrix for a number of specific projects for which money can be obtained.

During fund raising drives the prospective donor is deluged with shibboleths like, "our great contributions to the community," "the continuing interest in resolving society's most vexing problems," "our basic objective of creating free-thinking men and effective citizens." In campaign literature institutions often list the names of faculty members who have been prominent in community affairs. At alumni gatherings awards are presented to select individuals "for distinguished community service." Apparently, these declarations are effective as they seem to be increasing. Certainly the presence of a community program would increase the validity of these activities.

Example: Again, there are so many examples that it is not necessary to list them here. It should be noted, however, that the fund-raising element is more common to the private institution, while dealing with legislatures is the concern of the tax-supported institutions. Both pursue grants with equal vigor.

Community relations: Effective recruitment and financing require the good will of the community, be it the local community or the "institutional community" (which consists of those individuals and organizations which have a direct interest in the institution wherever they may be located).

How community programming can be related to community relations needs: Making various resources of the institution available to the community; participating in community improvement projects; developing educational programs for alumni and other interested adults; giving honors and awards; disseminating informational materials about the institution and its activities, are all means of improving an institution's relations with the community. However, the most effective means of enhancing the reputation of an educational institution, especially a university, is for it to do its primary job well—that is, maintain a high level of performance in its timeless pursuit of knowledge and teaching. None of the activities mentioned above will be very effective if the institution is not respected for the quality of its work.

Examples: Local community. Many small, liberal arts colleges engage in a variety of community improvement projects that enhance the relation between the college and the community. Community colleges are gaining prominence in this area.

Institutional community. Many extension divisions have found that certain groups constantly look to the university for continuing education. By defining the groups, programs can be set up for them. The University of California has a nationally famous program for lawyers. Also, its Institute for International Studies has a Community Development Program that grew out of the numerous requests from foreign countries for a program that would bring the academic talents of the University to bear on matters relating to community development throughout the world.

Community of interest: The University of Chicago, through a grant from the Kellogg Foundation, is establishing a Center for Continuing Education. Its guiding principle will be to bring together scholars and others interested in particular topics in national and international forums, conferences, institutes, and seminars.

For almost every kind of objective an institution may have there is some kind of community program that can help in its attainment. Whether or not the institution decides to implement such programs will depend upon many factors which must be carefully thought through. This paper is not intended to convince anyone that community programs should be established in their institution. It is not intended to prescribe how they can be initiated. It is mainly for the purpose of assisting one in thinking through why they might be established. The mere fact that an institution does not have a community program is not sufficient reason for its establishing one. Many have given the matter careful thought and, prudently, have decided that the benefits of community programs did not warrant the time and energy required to establish them.

On the other hand, a number of educational institutions have felt that their objectives and needs could be met more adequately by developing a symbiotic relationship with their communities. In these cases very meaningful, cooperative programs have been built in which the institution contributes to the educational activities of the community and the community supports the institution financially and by contributing students, faculty and other human and physical resources.

Institutional Orientations

Although educational institutions share somewhat the same objectives, as described earlier, the means by which they carry out their objectives are what gives each institution its unique character. The means selected depend upon many factors, such as kinds of leadership, finan-

cial resources, physical facilities, and the kinds of communities to which it is related.

However, there is another important element, often subtle and difficult to assess, which affects the character of the institution and must be taken into account in developing and administering community programs. This element is the orientation, viewpoint, or geist of an institution as differentiated from its objectives. While it is difficult to define in precise terms, the orientation or viewpoint of an institution might be said to consist of the accumulated attitudes of the members of the institution toward issues that they consider important in carrying out the institution's objectives.

The accumulation of attitudes around certain orientations results in some positions being emphasized more than others which, in turn, gives support to some community programs and creates resistances to others. To illustrate this point let us consider a few of the more prevalent viewpoints or orientations and some of the approaches that can be taken to develop community programs consistent with the orientations.

The liberal education orientation

Where there is a strong liberal education orientation there are a number of approaches that can be taken.

Approach #1. By developing a community program that focuses its attention not only on immediate action but also on an understanding of the basic issues a citizen faces in shaping his society, an institution can provide the framework for a fruitful liberal education experience. In studying their community, citizens can come to a better understanding of the nature of man and society by exposure to and study with social and political scientists, artists, historians, physical scientists, philosophers and others. The citizen can also be led to a deeper understanding of the relationships between these disciplines. Further, by carefully guiding the educational experience of the citizen as he works on problems in his community it should be possible to sharpen his ability to analyze problems, think critically, deliberate with others to suggest and evaluate alternative proposals for action, and to improve his ability to communicate effectively with others. To date no institution has fully developed this kind of liberally oriented community education program, but it probably offers the greatest challenge to liberal education oriented institutions.

Approach #2. Excellent programs of liberal education can be developed for community leaders outside of the context of community action. That is, instead of building the educational experience around community problems leading to community action it is directed to broad questions of interest and looks towards a liberally educated citizenry. Programs of this type have been developed with the assistance of the Center for the Study of Liberal Education for Adults at the University of Washington and the University of Rhode Island. Examples of the topics considered are, "The Philosophy of History," "Philosophy and the Requisites for Social Progress," "Major Issues in Contemporary Economic Thought," "Man's Changing Conception of Man," "Science and Society," "The Character of Revolution," and "Communication and a Democratic Society." In this type of liberally oriented program for community leaders little or no time may be spent in discussing the community itself but apparently the participants return to their community with renewed vigor in their work as well as a broader perspective.

Approach #3. Many liberal arts courses can be more effectively related to contemporary social and ethical issues by developing programs that give the student the opportunity to study complex problems in a "live" form in the local community. By enabling the student to participate in or obtain a first-hand view of carefully selected community activities it is possible to illustrate and illuminate matters discussed in the classroom. Many institutions have already employed this appraoch together with its modification, the field trip. An interesting variation for adults is the thirteen-year-old "Know Your Chicago" lecture-tour program of University College of the University of Chicago. Unfortunately, however, it does not require any serious study by the "student."

The vocational education orientation

Where an institution has a strong vocational education orientation, it is difficult to establish community programs, except of the "community relations" type. The institution is generally so absorbed in training individuals for competence in their trade or profession that it neglects their liberal education. However, two approaches are possible.

Approach #1. Certain obvious vocations or professions are directly related to community life. For instance, social workers, public health nurses, teachers, law enforcement personnel, and many others need to

understand community life. In these cases programs in or about the community can be set up that emphasize the role of the professional in community life. The most highly developed examples of this procedure exist in schools of social work or public health where the student undergoes supervised work in the community. However, even here a good deal more could be done to emphasize the liberal education of the student.

Approach #2. Because of the increasing awareness of business and professional groups that their constituents need to be active, well-rounded individuals as well as competent specialists, a variety of new opportunities are provided employees of companies and members of professional groups to supplement their vocational training with non-vocational, community-related programs. Many companies such as Ford Motor and Republic Steel, have developed programs which train and motivate employees to be active in civic and political affairs in the local community. National organizations such as the U. S. and Junior Chambers of Commerce have adopted community development programs as national activities. While each of these programs has relied on university personnel for help in its conception and development, there are few cases of continuing, close cooperation. Many people argue that this is as it should be, that the educational institution should not involve itself in such activities. Nevertheless, those who do see the relevance of teaching professionally-oriented adults about community affairs will find this a vast, untapped area that can be richly developed.

The community improvement orientation

Where the institution considers the experience of a citizen working on community problems to be an effective educational experience there is a great number of opportunities for community programs.

Approach #1. The most elaborate program is the total-community improvement or community development program in which the institution provides field workers, technical consultants, and specialists in citizen education, in an administrative complex that draws upon the regular resources of the institution as well as various public and private organizations as the need arises.

Approach #2. If an institution does not want to commit as many resources to a community program as is required in a community development program, it can set up more limited programs. Surveys or commu-

nity studies can be developed that involve a large number of people in studying different aspects of their community. Certain areas can be selected for more intensive study in preparation for community action projects.

Approach #3. Without going through the process of setting up surveys and analyses of the community which involve a large number of people an institution can simply select specific topics that have some likelihood of being of interest to the members of a community. Programs can be developed around topics ranging from such practical concerns as "Juvenile Delinquency—Its Causes and Prevention" to "Art and the Community." Such activities may or may not lead to specific action on the part of the members of the community. It is less likely to do so than Approaches #1 and #2 unless the topics have been suggested by groups that are both influential and represent major interests in the community.

Approach #4. Community projects can be established which, while not strictly educational, will nevertheless contribute to the quality of the life of the community. Community concerts, art and drama groups, historical societies, and the like can result from joint institution-community efforts in which the institution provides technical advice, personnel and possibly facilities, while the members of the community add the other necessary ingredients.

In the case of an institution with a total-community improvement orientation it is likely that variations of all three approaches would be taken. If so, one can readily appreciate the wisdom of approaching the community from the "community development" angle as it is the most comprehensive and well co-ordinated approach. It also provides the greatest assurance for the establishment of a firm base for long-range developments by involving members of the community in basic decisions as to what projects should be undertaken and by whom. This involvement generally enhances the validity of the decisions made and certainly creates an early interest in the projects which, in turn, helps in their later promotion. In many cases this approach leads to the community's actually assuming the responsibility for continuing activities that initially were handled by the educational institution.

The separatist orientation

This orientation emphasizes the university as a separate, autono-

mous institution, somewhat removed and aloof from daily concerns. Kornhauser puts it well when he says that the university is, and should be, "a center of intellectual activity; its business is scholarship; it is devoted to the independent search for truth and the communication of truth. All its activities, including its community relations, should be conducted as fully as is socially possible on the level of research and in the spirit of independent scholarly thought."[4]

In a further statement of this orientation as it relates to the responsibility of the university to the community he states, "Clearly the university is responsible to the larger community; it does not exist in a vacuum. However, this by no means implies that the university should respond to whatever influences, pressures, and desires for service appear strongest in the community from time to time. A true university must have stature and stability that permit it to carry on its scholarly work with considerable independence and detachment, free from the shifting winds of opinion in the community and from the special interests of prominent groups or organizations. The key question is whether the community, if it understands the true nature and value of a university, will support it precisely because it is an institution 'above the battle,' a free center of learning charged by the people with the special function of remaining independent in its teaching and its pursuit of truth in the interests of the whole society."[5]

Approach #1. The most likely approach of an institution which emphasizes this orientation is through a rather traditional study of the community as a social institution, seeking a better understanding of its nature and function. This approach requires no change for most institutions. However, it might be suggested that even within this limited framework the institution might consider interdisciplinary, coordinated research rather than continuing with the highly fragmented research and teaching that makes up most of the work so far. It is quite possible that the co-ordination of interdisciplinary research may lead to the establishment of a community program to serve as a laboratory for the research.

Approach #2. The faculty of even the most "separated" institution receive a multitude of requests for research, consultation and speech-

4. Kornhauser, op. cit., p. 2.

5. Ibid., p. 9.

making from the community. Too often the requests are inappropriate or made to the wrong person and in most cases even a refusal consumes a good deal of the faculty members' valuable time. By establishing a central clearing point for such requests an institution not only can route them to the appropriate faculty member (or refuse them if no one is available or interested) but also can specify and solicit requests of the type that the institution may consider appropriate. The establishment of a central office for clearing such requests can also serve to co-ordinate the efforts of various faculty members who are not fully aware of the activities of others.[6]

Approach #3. A useful approach which emphasizes the uniqueness of a university's role in community affairs is the seminar or conference that utilizes the discipline-oriented faculty members as teachers or resource personnel in the discussion of topics related to the community. The audience for such programs can be other faculty members, students, members of the public, or combinations of these. Programs of this type are frequently developed and administered by the extension division or evening college of a university. An interesting modification of this traditional approach has been tried recently by the Committee on Problems of the American Community of The Brookings Institution. It has made arrangements with various communities and universities to establish "community conference programs" in which "community decision-effectors (businessmen, public officials and citizen interest groups) and local representatives from the social sciences" are brought together to discuss the problems of the community in question. In this program the social scientist maintains his role as scientist, bringing to the conference relevant research findings and serving as an observer and critic. At the end of the program the social scientist is free to return to the university to pursue his scholarly tasks unfettered by obligations to engage in action projects.[7]

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6. Copies are available without charge of a succinct statement on the rationale and means of setting up a clearing point in a university for handling community requests and coordinating research activities. Requests should be sent to the author at the Center for the Study of Liberal Education for Adults.

7. A statement on this program, entitled "An Experiment in Communication and Civic Action, 1959-1961," is available free either from the Center for the Study of Liberal Education for Adults, or from The Brookings Institution, Committee on Problems of the American Community.

Naturally, it is conceivable that even a single institution may emphasize more than one of these orientations, especially as different faculty members, departments or units of the institution may have different views of the way in which an institution should carry out its objectives. The intent of this section was not to suggest "either-or" approaches to community programming but was to indicate a few ways in which community programs can be developed within the framework of different orientations.

Administrative Structures

So far in this section the factors affecting community programs that have been discussed have been the objectives and orientations of the sponsoring institution. While these factors are of utmost importance and set the limits of the community programs they are by no means the only important factors. Once it is decided to develop a community program one must try to figure out the most effective administrative structure to use.

To date almost every conceivable type of administrative arrangement has been tried for running community programs. No single pattern has proved applicable to all situations but the most effective have had certain common characteristics.

First, the program's administrators have had access to power and influence in the sense that they get support from important persons and bodies with a minimum of effort and delay. For instance, they have had the support of major administrative officials in the institution and governmental bodies; they were supported by (or at least not opposed by) faculty members; business, labor and civic groups were involved and behind the program; and there was a broad base of community support.

Second, they have had the resources available to implement projects. For instance, they could: call on faculty members and expert resource personnel; obtain the professional services of lawyers, planners, architects and accountants; obtain access to the channels of communication, especially radio, television and the newspapers; and obtain citizen volunteers for activities such as circulating petitions, giving speeches to civic groups and a multitude of tasks connected with carrying out projects.

Last, the administrative structures had a permanence, simplicity and consistency about them that enabled most people to feel that the pro-

gram was a stable, understandable one in which they could place their confidence and in which they could participate with the greatest rewards to themselves and to the program.

Rather than attempt to describe all of the different types of administrative arrangements now in existence (many of which are well-defined in another study)[8] it might be more helpful to try to group them into five major types:

1. The administrative responsibility is the special function of a single employee of the institution such as the Public Relations Director, Community Relations Officer, Alumni Director, or Housing and Real Estate Officer.
2. A special department or administrative unit is established to carry out specific tasks more or less unrelated to the regular departments of the institution. These may take the form of a Center for Community Research, a Leadership Training Center or a Community Development Institute that is not integrated into the rest of the institution.
3. A program developed as a part of the regular departmental structure and carried out as a departmental responsibility. Examples would be: consultation services of a department of planning, architecture or political science; field services of a department of education; or a research and training program of a department of sociology.
4. Special relationships developed with outside agents which help the institution carry out community-oriented objectives of the institution. Such agencies have been developed with the help of the institutions in Chicago (the University of Chicago—South East Chicago Commission) and in New York (Columbia University—Morningside Heights Corporation).
5. A program based on cooperative relationships of departments within an institution and with outside agencies, all working together on community problems and co-ordinated through a central committee or institute. (The All-University Committee on Community Problems of the University of Illinois or the Community Development Bureau of the University of Washington.)

Recently, there have been some interesting variations of these basic administrative structures. One in particular is worth mentioning because it brings together the university and a large governmental body to work on community problems.

This unique approach is that of the Center for Community Studies which is a program sponsored jointly by the Government of Saskatchewan and the University of Saskatchewan. The program aims at the devel-

8. Lackey, op. cit.

opment of the rural communities of the Province through community research, by relating technical advice and resources to the stimulation of community initiative and self-development, and by in-service training of professional and non-professional leaders engaged in community activities.

The direct involvement of the government of Saskatchewan in a university-located community program offers an interesting contrast to the university-sponsored community programs in the U. S. that maintain a discreet distance between the university and the government.

While the types mentioned above indicate the recent developments, there are surely many other new arrangements possible. In fact, it is safe to say that there will be an increasing number of administrative innovations in this area before we begin to see the establishment of any "standardized" programs.

Financing

The obvious fact that the size of a program depends on the amount of funds available needs to be stated, but it is not the only important factor. Because of the American tradition of voluntary community service it is possible to mobilize powerful resources if people know that the program is in earnest, has the solid backing of the institution, and is not just a short-term project. For these reasons it is very important that the administration of the institution make known its support of community programs. Many excellent programs have been run even on small budgets when they have had full institutional support and allocation of faculty resources where needed.

In some cases where new and pioneering ventures are tried, it may be a definite advantage to begin modestly. It often necessitates bringing more people into the planning process, develops slowly enough for people to catch on to the idea and does not give the people of the community the feeling that they are being conned into something by high-pressure tactics.

Another factor to be considered in financing community programs is the source of the funds for operating the program. The basic orientation and scope of the program can be greatly affected by the necessity to produce results in line with the expectations of the donor. For example, state legislatures occasionally expect, among other things, that com-

munity programs will improve the tax base of the community by upgrading the economy while at the same time keeping the taxpayers happy by providing special services to them. If neither of these events occurs then the appropriations are likely to cease or diminish. To offer another example, if the president of an institution feels that the relations with the community need improving and a "community relations" program does not in fact improve such relations, then the president's special fund for the program may dry up, regardless of what kind of educational activity may be taking place.

The practical implications associated with receiving money for community programs is a particularly wearisome problem as no extensive community program can be financed on tuition and service fees alone, unless it is simply a research project on a cost or cost-plus basis. Therefore, virtually every community program has to make some kind of direct or implied promise that it will "improve," "develop," "mitigate," or in some way bring about a desirable change. Pure education for its own sake is not yet a luxury of community programs.

V. CONCLUSION

The community programs of today have received about the degree of support appropriate to the development of sound educational practices. Certainly, there remains a great unmet need and community problems are piling up at a faster rate than we can solve them. But that does not mean that more support and activity in this area would have improved the present state of community programs. In fact, quite the opposite might be the case had there been a less cautious and skeptical attitude toward such programs. For example, a few instances have occurred in government-sponsored community development programs in rapidly developing countries where "armies" of community development workers have advanced on the villages and countrysides, organizing the villagers into work groups to carry out a government-backed development plan. While this approach may be effective in getting immediate jobs done it runs rough-shod over the educational process that is the real strength of community programs.

In the United States a similar but less severe condition occasionally develops where staff members of large community development programs begin to approach their tasks in mechanical, stereotyped ways. They move into a community with a pre-determined plan based on past experience and begin ticking off the activities with metronomic precision, setting up this survey and that committee. The frequent success of their mechanical efforts reaffirms the desire for direct, firm, authoritative action at the community level but often masks the uniqueness of each community and limits the possibilities for healthy deviation from a "formula." Each community must be stimulated to discover new methods and approaches to solving community problems. Mechanical and routinized approaches stultify the educational process and substitute orientation-like activities for searching inquiries.

Fortunately, to date, no single community education program has become so entrenched as to bring about such stereotyped and heavy-handed approaches to the whole field. The majority of the people work-

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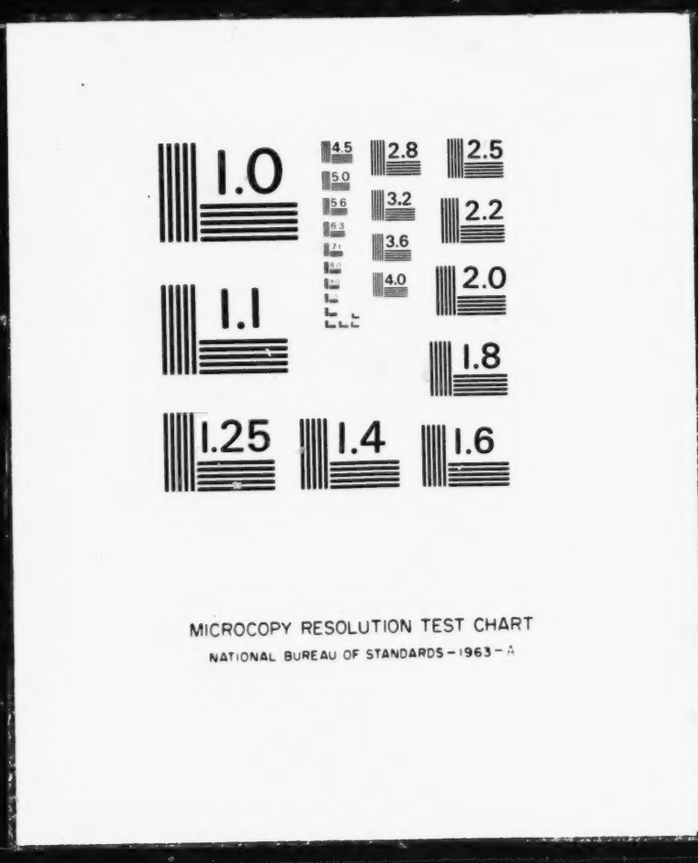

ing in the field have, like most professionals, attempted to carry out their responsibilities with sensitivity, imagination and a keen awareness of the educational implications of community activities.

In fact, one might say that community education is entering a phase of quasi-controlled experimentation. It has already passed through a phase of exploration wherein many programs were tried under a variety of conditions but without attempting to do so in a "controlled" or "experimental" manner. Following the initial exploratory phase which indicated that something important needed to be done in the field of community education, an establishment phase occurred. In this phase a number of people argued and fought for the establishment of community education (and especially community development) programs as a legitimate function of various institutions and agencies. Now, in the experimental phase, a quasi-scientific attitude has been assumed in which many professionals are attempting to test out various models, administrative structures, and methods. This is especially evident at a number of universities where large programs of community development are located. Illustrative of this exploratory attitude the Michigan State University program has undergone two years of self-assessment in attempting to develop a modus operandi; the University of Michigan has been involved in a new form of metropolitan citizen action; Southern Illinois University has undertaken an exploratory urban program in East St. Louis; the University of Saskatchewan has been carefully feeling its way through a combined University-Provincial government program; the University of Washington has been emphasizing evaluation research and studying its ten-year-old community efforts for lasting effects; the University of Kansas has reassessed its community program and is now offering a variety of educational programs and services rather than direct help to communities.

All of these instances seem to stem from an attitude of controlled experimentation; or at least of careful consideration of the various alternative types of programs possible and selection of that type most appropriate to the particular situation coupled with a willingness to alter the program if circumstances indicate it is not suitable. Further, few of them appear to be trying to tell others that their program is the way to proceed. They have a healthy concern for the local circumstances in which they operate. These days none of them shouts "eureka" nor circulates about during conventions with an evangelical gleam in his eye as if looking for con-

verts. Occasionally one still gets cornered in a crowded hotel suite late at night by someone who tells of the way in which a previously lethargic community or group has suddenly taken hold and experienced "a really significant educational program." But this is healthy enthusiasm, not the self-delusion of thinking one has found an educational touchstone or an elixir for communities with "tired blood."

Some criticisms

Claims not substantiated. The severest criticism of community education programs, especially the "total community" improvement type, is that their claims have not been substantiated.

Those of us who have worked in such programs are personally confident that specific goals can be reached and that worthwhile educational processes do take place. But this personal knowledge is not sufficient and our colleagues have a right to insist that our efforts be documented and our claims substantiated insofar as our research methodology permits.

To date, most of the "research" and "professional publications" have been of a survey nature or heavily biased case studies. Other publications, like this paper, have consisted mainly of an individual's opinion. While such works possibly help to clarify some matters, they are not enough. There needs to be a greater volume of articles and books discussing specific questions and clarifying the basic assumptions on which many programs are built. These assumptions and the end-product, the program, need to be critically examined by scholars and practitioners both in the field and from the academic disciplines. More seminars, workshops and professional meetings are required in which there is a frank exchange of information and ideas.

In effect, community education must now be submitted to a thorough examination by many people with many different points of view. Its limitless possibilities must be explored along with its numerous limitations. Through this process of critical appraisal a realistic notion can be developed as to how community education can take its place among the multitude of educational and organizational activities so prevalent today.

Insufficient attention to educational objectives. Many institutions sponsoring community education programs, especially those in the areas of "community relations" and "community organization," have been so

absorbed in accomplishing specific objectives of a non-educational nature that they have neglected to give sufficient emphasis to the education of the individuals involved. Some universities, concerned with serious problems in the community in which they are located, have developed community organization programs which, although renewing the neighborhood, have neglected the fruitful community education possibilities inherent in such a task.

Other institutions, intent upon developing a "successful" community program have sometimes sacrificed educational objectives for immediate results. That is, eager to get a community council formed or a recreational program established in order to demonstrate "success," some institutions have retained the prerogative of making critical decisions, thereby denying the members of the community the opportunity to analyze community problems, weigh relevant factors and alternative solutions, and participate in the final decision. Properly handled, this decision-making process can be an extremely important educational activity.

Only by carefully thinking through the educational objectives of community programs can one assure their attainment. The statement that "participating in community affairs is an education in itself" is a pretty thin argument, and too many educational institutions have been guilty of tacitly subscribing to it as a justification for their involvement in community programs.

Some suggestions

Emphasizing the experimental attitude. A greater emphasis must be placed on quasi-scientific experimentation with community education programs. Recognizing the complexity of the variables involved in such programs it is impossible to demand strict controls and laboratory experiments. But insofar as possible this goal must be striven for, and these research activities need to be more than just program evaluation. A wide range of research must be undertaken to answer such questions as:

- What kinds of community problems can be overcome by community education programs?
- Under what conditions are specific programs most effective?
- What actually occurs in a community and to its people as they participate in different kinds of programs?

- What are the long-range results of the different types of community programs? To the individual? To the community? To the institution that sponsored the program? To society?
- What are the best ways to use subject matter specialists? How can the academic departments of our university systems be brought into community education as working partners?
- How can community programs be financed?
- What is the most effective working relationship between governmental bodies and community programs?
- What kinds of professionals are needed? What is the best kind of training for them?
- What is the relationship of community education to social service activities (group work, for example), urban renewal, industrial development, adult education (such as the burgeoning political education and public affairs programs of industry) and high school civic education?

These and other related questions must be answered authoritatively before the field can emerge from the "experimental phase." The pattern has been set in the development of many similar fields, some of which have become "professions." However, whether or not such a "profession" emerges from this field is irrelevant. The important task is to bring about a scholarly ferment of ideas, clash of opinions, and interchange of ideas and research findings that will clarify many of the extremely difficult and important matters related to community education programs.

Involving others in the experimentation. So far in this section the stress has been on the need for people in community education (especially those associated with "total community" improvement programs) to assume a more experimental attitude. While the burden of the case rests on the professionals in the community education field, they must have assistance from many others as well. For too long the people in community education have communicated mainly with each other. And this has not been entirely their fault.

Many people in authority have taken a "show me" attitude toward community education where it should be "let's look." The person interested in community education or service programs has had to "sell" his ideas. Many times the person being "sold" has not read the simplest statement about community education and is impatient if one takes the time required to explain its complexities. The listener sometimes reaches the conclusion that the community educator is simply a fuzzy thinker who doesn't know what he wants. It would be helpful if the listener would

try to develop an appreciation for the complexities of the problem and a feeling for the challenge of the task.

Some of this impatience also exists within the ranks of the professionals themselves. They sometimes do not take the trouble to learn about another's program and the circumstances that brought it about. Because of this general atmosphere of impatience and possibly intolerance, one feels compelled to call for more effort on the part of the uninformed to inform themselves before they decide the merits of a proposal and for the informed professionals to make every effort to provide basic information about community education in as sensible a manner as possible.

The general problem of lack of communication mentioned above cannot be easily overcome. In fact, it is likely to increase in the near future because of the constant growth and proliferation of new programs. New approaches and terms will be developed, old educational empires will be threatened by new programs and the initial research results and statements such as this one may bring more confusion than clarity. But these efforts must be made. One cannot know if his attempts to synthesize, generalize, or taxonomize will stand up under scrutiny over time or if they will simply cause confusion. Presumably the best and most timely efforts will gain attention and be useful, at least for a time, to be superseded by more competent and useful works.

Community education as a social force

Before concluding this statement on community programs the writer would like to draw your attention to what is one of the most important aspects of these programs. Howard Y. McClusky, in the Adult Education Handbook, speaks to this important aspect as he discusses "community development." What he says about community development applies to a number of other community programs as well.

> Community development may also be regarded as an educative force in society as a whole. This may sound naive to the realist, but if the habits of community self-help through study and cooperative action could become as much a part of the American scene as political campaigns, vacation travel, school commencements, or sports events, it is possible that new forces would be released which would serve as a healthy check against some of the dominant trends of our time.
>
> Take, for example, the current trend toward the bureaucratization of institutional life. An objective view tells us that bureaucracy is the

price we pay for our interdependence and high standard of living. But the flexibility of procedures inherent in the processes of community development is the antithesis of formal regularities and channels of the bureau; the absence of status differences in community development is contrary to the rank order of officialdom; and community development's encouragement of agenda-setting at any point in the organizational network is a contradiction of the bureaucracy's habit of letting the echelon above decide what the echelon below should do and how it shall behave. In fact, the "organization man" in the grey flannel suit may be a good worker for his company, but he would probably run into serious trouble if he insisted on installing the formalities of his organization in an effort to develop the suburb to which he returns from work.

Or take community development as an offset to the centralist trends of modern society. Where transportation and communication transcend all boundaries, some centralization of authority over large consolidations of operation is inevitable and necessary, especially in a specialized and highly interdependent society. But, because of this fact, it is all the more important that control of decisions with respect to the task of everyday living be kept as close to the local community as possible. Community development, conceived as an educational experience, could accomplish a great deal toward offsetting the habits of dependency which the practice of deference to superior economic and political authority tend to encourage. In fact, if community development were an integral part of the American scene, it could well become the soil whereby the spirit of democracy would be constantly replenished.

Perhaps it is really naive to assign community development the task of reordering the structure of American society, but it is possible that a great increase of meaningful interaction across class lines would substantially improve current tendencies toward social disorganization by increasing the individual's positive identification with the welfare of his community.[1]

A closing query

Is the field of community education ready to meet the demands placed upon it by the surge of activity at the community level mentioned in the opening statement?

Are community development and related programs ready for the assignment of "reordering the structure of American society" of which McClusky speaks?

Probably not, but pressures of social problems and the demands of an awakening public for new educational experiences to clarify man's social, political and ethical relations to one another will force the development of this and related fields.

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1. McClusky, op. cit.

How those responsible for directing the efforts of educational institutions will respond to these demands depends on many factors, some of which have been covered in this paper, but it is certainly clear that we are justified in looking closely and objectively to see in what ways the field of community education can help meet the urgent agenda before us.

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